

Message Text

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ACTION EA-14

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NSCE-00 RSR-01 /084 W

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P R 160743Z AUG 73

FM AMCONSUL HONG KONG

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7921

INFO USLO PEKING

AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

AMEMBASSY TOKYO

CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 HONG KONG 8255

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: XGDS-2

TAGS: PINT, CH, US

SUBJECT: CHINESE-AMERICAN PROFESSOR EJECTED FROM PRC

SUMMARY. IN FIRST SUCH INCIDENT TO OUR KNOWLEDGE SINCE 1971 RUSH OF U.S. VISITORS TO CHINA BEGAN, PRC AUTHORITIES AUGUST 11 EJECTED KAI-YU HSU, CHINESE-AMERICAN PROFESSOR FROM CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, FROM PRC. HSU WAS ACCUSED OF "ILLEGALLY GATHERING INFORMATION" BUT EVIDENCE SPECIFICALLY CITED BY POLICE SEEMS FLIMSY AND HSU WAS NEVER DETAINED. CASE IS ESPECIALLY INTERESTING IN THAT HSU IS AUTHOR OF "CHOU EN-LAI, CHINA'S GRAY EMINENCE," A 1967 BIOGRAPHY THAT BY WESTERN STANDARDS GIVES FAORVABLE TREATMENT TO THE PREMIER. HSU HAD SPENT SOME SIX MONTHS IN CHINA PURSUING PURPOSES STATED IN HIS PRC VISA APPLICATION ,NAMELY, VISITING RELATIVES; INTERVIEWING CHINESE WRITERS (SOME OF WHOM WERE FORMER TEACHERS AND ACQUAINTANCES) IN CONNECTION WITH UPCOMING BOOK ON LITERATURE; GENERAL TRAVEL; AND SEEKING INTERVIEW WITH CHOU EN-LAI AND LUI MO-JO. ACTUAL CAUSE OF HSU'S EXPULSION IS NOT KNOWN BUT PRESENT POLITICAL CLIMATE AS IT RELATES TO CHOU EN-LAI MAY HAVE MADE HSU'S CONFIDENTIAL

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CONTINUED PRESENCE SOURCE OF EMBARRASSMENT.

ADDITIONALLY HSU'S CONVERSATIONS WITH WRITERS AND ASSOCIATED INTERESTS COULD HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY OBJECTIONABLE TO

AUTHORITIES, END SUMMARY

1. KAI-YU HSU, PROFESSOR OF HUMANITIES, CALIFORNIA STATE UNIVERSITY, TOLD CONGENOFFS ON AUGUST 14 THAT HE, HIS WIFE AND TWO SONS WERE ESCORTED AUGUST 11 OUT OF THE PRC BY PUBLIC SECURITY AUTHORITIES. HSU, AUTHOR OF "CHOU EN-LAI: CHINA'S GRAY EMINENCE" AND A NATIVE OF SZECHWAN, STATED HE REQUESTED PRC EMBASSY OTTAWA FOR VISA IN SPRING 1972. HE BASED REQUEST FOR VISA ON FOLLOWING PURPOSES: (1) VISIT RELATIVES IN SZECHWAN; (2) TALK TO PRC WRITERS IN CONNECTION WITH HIS UPCOMING BOOK ON LITERATURE; (3) GENERAL TRAVEL; AND (4) WISH FOR INTERVIEW WITH PREMIER CHOU EN-LAI AND POET-WRITER KUO MO-JO. IN NOVEMBER 1972 PRC EMBASSY INFORMED HSU HE COULD GO TO CHINA BUT ADDED THAT SZECHWAN WAS CLOSED TO HIS TRAVEL AND THAT CALLS ON PREMIER CHOU AND KUO MO-JO MIGHT NOT BE POSSIBLE, SINCE THESE LEADERS WERE VERY BUSY.

2. HSU ENTERED PRC FEBRUARY 17 AND THROUGH PRC TRAVEL SERVICE WAS ABLE TO TRAVEL TO CANTON, CHANGSHA AND WUHAN WHERE HE MET BROTHER AND TOGETHER PROCEEDED TO PEKING. IN PEKING HE MET WITH LIN CHING-YU, REPORTEDLY HEAD OF THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OVERSEAS CHINESE AFFAIRS SECTION, IN MARCH. LIU WANTED TO KNOW ABOUT HSU'S BIOGRAPHY OF CHOU AND WHAT KIND OF QUESTIONS AND DISCUSSIONS HSU WOULD LIKE TO ASK CHOU. HSU SAID, IN INDICATING HIS INTERESTS WERE GENERAL, THAT HE DID NOT SPECIFICALLY STATE HE PLANNED TO WRITE ABOUT CHOU NOR THAT HE INTENDED TO REVISE BIOGRAPHY. LIU WAS NONCOMMITAL ABOUT HSU'S PROSPECTS AND HSU CONTINUED TO REQUEST PERMISSION TO CARRY ON WITH TRAVEL AND INTERVIEW PURPOSES. CHINESE WERE FAIRLY COOPERATIVE ABOUT TRAVEL AND WRITER INTERVIEWS AND NEARLY ALL INTERVIEWS WERE OBTAINED IN APRIL AND MAY. ON MAY 7 LIU INFORMED HSU THAT INTERVIEW WITH CHOU WAS OUT. ALTHOUGH HSU PRESSED FOR REASON FOR REFUSAL, LIU MERELY SAID HE COULD NOT ANSWER. HSU SUBSEQUENTLY WAS ALSO INFORMED HE COULD NOT GO TO SZECHWAN. HOWEVER, HSU WAS ABLE HOLD RENDEZVOUS WITH RELATIVES (SISTER, BROTHER AND IN-LAWS) IN SHANGHAI FROM JUNE 25 TO JULY 4. (MRS. HSU AND SONS, WHO ENTERED PRC IN JUNE, PARTICIPATED.) THEREAFTER HSU FAMILY WENT BACK TO TAIPEI. CONFIDENTIAL

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PEKING BY WAY OF LOYANG AND CHENGCHOU. HSU NOTED THAT WRITERS AND CONTACTS IN PEKING WERE NOT RESPONDING TO HIS EFFORTS TO REACH THEM. HSU FAMILY MADE REQUEST FOR PERMISSION TO TRAVEL TO MANCHURIA. AUTHORITIES EQUIVOCATED WHEN HSU REQUESTED EXTENSION OF HIS VISA TO EXTEND TO AUGUST 24 TO COINCIDE WITH VISAS OF REST OF FAMILY. HIS PASSPORT ALONG WITH REQUEST FOR EXTENSION WAS ACCEPTED BY AUTHORITIES ON JULY 12. WHILE WAITING FOR EXTENSION DECISION, FAMILY WAS ENCOURAGED BY TRAVEL SERVICE TO GO TO TSINAN AND TSINGTAO WITH TEMPORARY TRAVEL PERMIT FOR PROFESSOR HSU.

3. ON AUGUST 8 IN TSINAN PUBLIC SECURITY OFFICIALS APPEARED AT HOTEL INFORMING HSU THAT BECAUSE OF HIS "ILLEGAL INFORMATION

GATHERING ACTIVITIES" FAMILY WAS TO BE SEARCHED. POLICE THEN CONFISCATED ALL HSU'S NOTES, RECORDS AND BOOKS AND ALL OF HIS EXPOSED FILM. POLICE CITED SLIP WITH NAMES, AND POSSIBLY TITLES, OF FOUR SZECHWAN POLITICAL LEADERS FOUND IN HSU'S NOTED (SUPPLIED ORIGINALLY BY BROTHER) ALONG WITH TWO INTERNAL STUDY-SESSION TYPE PAMPHLETS BY MAO AND OTHER PRC LEADERS (WHICH HSU HAD BORROWED FROM FRIEND AND INTENDED TO RETURN) AS EVIDENCE OF HSU' SPYING, SAYING HSU WAS ONLY SUPPOSED TO VISIT RELATIVES IN PRC. HSU REPLIED THAT HE WAS WRITER AND HAD GENERAL INTEREST IN SZECHWAN SCENE, THAT LEDERS LISTED WERE WELL KNOWN, AND HSU HAD STATED GENERAL INTEREST WHEN APPLYING FOR VISA. THE OFFICER IN CHARGE THEN STATED THAT HSU'S VISA WAS NOT TO BE EXTENDED AND THAT THE FAMILY WOULD HAVE TO LEAVE. THEREAFTER, FAMILY WAS ESCORTED FROM TSINAN TO CANTON VIA SHANGHAI AND HANG-CHOW BY TRAIN AND PLANE, CROSSING BORDER ON AUGUST 11. DURING TRAVEL HSU FAMILY WAS NOT TREATED HARSHLY BUT WAS ACCOMPANIED BY SECURITY PERSONNEL AND KEPT AWAY FROM OTHER TRAVELERS.

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ACTION EA-14

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07 H-03 INR-10 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-15 USIA-15

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P R 160743Z AUG 73

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7922

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AMEMBASSY TAIPEI

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CINCPAC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 HONG KONG 8255

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

4. IN RESPONSE TO CONGENOFF QUESTIONS, HSU STATED HE SPOKE WITH ABOUT TWELVE CHINESE WRITERS DURING STAY IN CHINA. SOME OF THEM HE HAD CONTACTED THROUGH TRAVEL SERVICE AND SOME ON HIS OWN BUT IN ALL CASES AUTHORITIES HAD BEEN AWARE OF CONTACT. HE HAD PURPOSELY STAYED AWAY FROM POLITICAL QUESTIONS AND SENSITIVE SUBJECTS. WHILE SOME OF THE WRITERS HE INTERVIEWED WERE "REHABILITATED" FROM CULTURAL REVOLUTION PERIOD, OTHERS WERE "MODEL REVOLUTIONARIES." ALL INTERVIEWS HAD TAKEN PLACE IN PEKING, WITH EXCEPTION OF THREE WRITERS IN WUHAN. HSU WAS TWICE INTERVIEWED HIMSELF IN PEKING IN EARLY JULY BY TWO TEAMS

OF PEKING UNIVERSITY PROFESSORS. THESE TEAMS ASKED HIM ABOUT RESEARCH ON CHINA IN US, WHO CARRIED OUT SUCH RESEARCH, ETC., AND ABOUT HIS RESEARCH METHODS AND UNDER WHOSE AUSPICES HSU WAS DOING HIS WORK. HSU WAS ALSO VISITED IN LATE JULY BY TWO OFFICIALS WHO CLAIMED THEY WERE FROM MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS. HSU SAID TWO CAME SOLELY TO DENOUNCE HSU'S BIOGRAPHY OF CHOU. THEY STATED THAT IT WAS A WORK DETRIMENTAL TO THE PRC BECAUSE IN PRAISING CHOU IT SOUGHT TO DENIGRATE CHAIRMAN MAO AND IT SOUGHT TO DRIVE A WEDGE IN THE PARTY LEADERSHIP, BEING A WORK THAT SOUGHT TO DAMAGE THE LEADERSHIP BY PRAISING
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ONE INDIVIDUAL. SPECIFICALLY THEY CRITICIZED HSU'S BOOK FOR PARTS IN WHICH HE CREDITED CHOU WITH ORIGINAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REVOLUTION, CLAIMING THAT EVERYONE KNOWS THAT IT WAS CHAIRMAN MAO WHO ALONE LED AND CREATED THE REVOLUTION. ANOTHER SPECIFIC POINT OF CRITICISM WAS HSU'S RELIANCE ON NON-COMMUNIST SOURCES INCLUDING KMT FOR HIS WORK. HSU'S DEFENSE (THAT NO COMMUNIST SOURCE MATERIAL ON CHOU WAS AVAILABLE, THAT BOOK WAS WELL REGARDED WORLD WIDE AS OBJECTIVE, THAT HE HAS BEEN ACCUSED OF BEING PRO-COMMUNIST BECAUSE OF BOOK AND THAT THE BOOK WAS BANNED IN TAIWAN) FELL ON DEAF EARS.

5. HSU'S OWN ANALYSIS OF HIS EXPULSION WAS THAT PRC AUTHORITIES DECIDED THAT ANYTHING HE WROTE WOULD NOT BE BENEFICIAL TO THE PRC AND THEREFORE THAT HIS PRESENCE WAS UNDESIRABLE. THAT HE HAD PLANNED TO LEAVE PRC ANYWAY AROUND AUGUST 24 WAS KNOWN TO AUTHORITIES, AND WHY THEY WOULD CHOOSE TO EJECT HIM EARLIER WAS NOT CLEAR. HSU REASONS THAT AUTHORITIES WANTED TO SEIZE ALL HIS NOTES AND THIS MAY HAVE DICTATED ACCUSATION-SEARCH APPROACH. HE BELIEVES AUTHORITIES DESIGNED SEARCH DENOUEMENT TO OCCUR IN TSINAN, RATHER THAN IN PEKING WHERE HSU HAD FRIENDS. HSU STATED HE HAS NOT DECIDED WHETHER HE WILL PUBLICIZE OR WRITE ABOUT HIS EXPERIENCE, ALTHOUGH HE WANTED OTHER U.S. SCHOLARS TO AVOID SIMILAR INCIDENTS. JEOPARDY TO RELATIVES AND FRIENDS IN CHINA WAS A CONSIDERATION. HE INDICATED HE MAY WRITE TO PRC EMBASSY IN OTTAWA TO REQUEST RETURN OF WHATEVER MATERIALS TAKEN FROM HIM THAT WERE FOUND NON-OBJECTIONABLE. (POLICE OFFICIAL DURING SEARCH HAD NOT REPLIED TO QUESTION WHETHER ANY MATERIALS MIGHT BE RETURNED.) HSU FAMILY PLANS TO LEAVE HONG KONG FOR U.S. AUGUST 18.

COMMENT:

6. HSU'S BIOGRAPHY OF CHOU APPEARS TO HAVE REPUTATION OF BEING A WELL RESEARCHED AND SCHOLARLY WORK. WHILE IT IS LIMITED TO WESTERN, JAPANESE, AND TAIWAN SOURCE MATERIALS THE APPROACH IS OBJECTIVE AND ON BALANCE QUITE LAUDATORY OF CHOU. MUCH OF THE STUDY CONCERNS CHOU'S LEADING ROLE IN CCP IN 1920-1930'S, PORTRAYING HIM AS HAVING A PIVOTAL ROLE IN PARTY AND IDEOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENT. HSU ASSERTS IN ONE SECTION THAT CHOU'S SHAO-SHAN REPORT ANTEDATED MAO'S FORMULATIONS AND HAS "REMAINED IN SUBSTANCE

THE PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL LINE." HE MAKES EXPLICIT THAT CHOU'S
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CONTRIBUTIONS TO REVOLUTIONARY THEORY ON SUCH MATTERS
AS PREPARATORY AND EVOLUTIONARY STAGES OF REVOLUTION AND NEED
FOR A UNITED FRONT CAME EARLIER THAN, AND MAY HAVE BEEN MODELS
FOR, MAO'S LATER SIMILAR EXPOSITIONS.

7. HSU HIMSELF APPEARED TO CONGENOFS TO BE AN OBSERVANT, CALM
AND THOUGHTFUL PERSON. HE HAD REMARKABLE MEMORY OF DETAILS
OF THE VISIT AND DATES, ESPECIALLY CONSIDERING THAT ALL HIS NOTES
AND WRITTEN MATERIALS HAD BEEN TAKEN. CERTAINLY HE DID NOT LACK
KNOWLEDGE OF CHINESE PSYCHOLOGY NOR PRC OPERATIONAL PROCEDURES,
SO IN THIS REGARD HIS CONDUCT PROBABLY WAS MORE CIRCUMPECT THAN
AVERAGE VISITOR IN HIS CIRCUMSTANCES.

8. OF NUMEROUS U.S. VISITORS TO PRC SINCE 1971, INCLUDING
HUNDREDS OF CHINESE-AMERICANS, HSU IS THE FIRST CASE OF WHICH WE
ARE AWARE THAT PRC HAS PHYSICALLY EJECTED VISITOR. PERHAPS IT
WAS INEVITABLE THAT WITH SUCH NUMBERS INVOLVED SOME SUCH INCIDENT
SHOULD OCCUR. HOWEVER, FEW VISITORS HAD AS LENGTHY A STAY AS HSU
OR HIS LANGUAGE AND ENTREE CAPABILITIES. WE DO NOT KNOW EXACT
CAUSE OF HIS EXPUSION BUT HSU'S OWN ACCOUNT AND THE FACT THAT HE
WAS NOT DETAINED BY POLICE WOULD SEEM TO INDICATE HSU DID NOT
COMMIT SPECIFIC SERIOUS VIOLATIONS. THAT THE REGIME FOUND HSU
INTERVIEWS WITH WRITERS AND TRAVEL ACTIVITIES INCREASINGLY
SENSITIVE AND OBJECTIONABLE APPEARS PROBABLE. THIS
LIKELY CONTRIBUTED TO HIS BEING CONSIDERED UNWELCOME. WE BELIEVE
HSU'S REPUTATION, BASED ON HIS BIOGRAPHIC WORK ON CHOU, WAS
RELEVANT TO HIS INITIALLY BEING APPROVED FOR A PRC VISA. THERE
IS POSSIBILITY THAT SLOPPY PRC STAFF WORK FAILED TO DISCLOSE
INITIALLY THAT HSU'S BIOGRAPHIC TREATMENT OF CHOU IN CONTEXT OF
EARLY PRC HISTORY AND KMT/CCP PERIOD HAD DISQUALIFIED PROFESSOR
FOR ANY FURTHER CONTACT OR USEFULNESS. BUT THIS WOULD BE VERY
MUCH OUT OF CHARACTER WITH METICULOUS KIND OF PRC RESEARCH WORK
USUALLY GIVEN AMERICAN VISITORS. (HSU SAID HE KNOWS ENGLISH AND
JAPANESE VERSIONS OF HIS WORK IS IN PRC, HAVING PERSONALLY SEEN
JAPANESE VERSION ON SHELF OF FRIEND.) INTERESTINGLY, HSU'S
CONTACTS WITH PRC AUTHORITIES RE VISA OCCURRED IN SAME APPROXIMATE
TIME-FRAME AS DISCUSSION OF ROXANE WITKE PROJECT TO DO BIOGRAPHIC
SERIES ON CHIANG CHING (HONG KONG A-61) AND THERE MAY HAVE BEEN
SOME INTEREST IN SIZING HSU UP FOR POSSIBLE SIMILAR PROJECT
ON CHOU. BUT WHEN THE WITKE PROJECT WAS SUBSEQUENTLY CANCELED
BY PRC SIDE, ANY INTEREST IN HAVING BIOGRAPHY DONE ON CHOU BY
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AN AMERICAN LEKELY PLUMMETED. WE HAVE REPORTED ON RECENT
INDICATIONS OF APPARENT CONTROVERSIES (HONG KONG 8067) AND
THAT ON AT LEAST ONE OCCASION OF CHOU SEEMINGLY WISHING TO AVOID
THE SPOTLIGHT (HONG KONG 7778). UNDER SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES,

ANY CHOU CONTACT WITH BIOGRAPHER HSU COULD HAVE MADE CHOU
VULNERABLE TO CRITICISM AND PRESENCE OF HSU IN PRC EVEN COULD HAVE
BEEN FOUND EMBARRASSING. AT ANY RATE RECENT GENERAL PRC POLITICAL
CROSSCURRENTS APPEAR TO HAVE PLAYED A PART IN HSU'S EXPULSION.
(THIS THOUGHT WAS NOT CONVEYED TO HSU BY CONGENOFFS.) AIRGRAM
FOLLOWS.
DEAN

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